1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

592 in cash he receives all year and he has made elaborate plans for its disposal. He
443 often watches the scale men for several weeks asking questions about them from other
43 farmers, perhaps even going to visit a few to see if he can obtain a slightly better
[455] price than that set by the government. On their side the scale men may try to buy a "future" if they see the farmer is in trouble. This involves a cash advance and a much lower final sale price which is intended to cover the greater risk by the buyer since the crop may fail. This practice is illegal, and there have been very serious attempts to stamp it out.

592 Craft production and special services such as religious prayers or barbering
443 are made available in several ways. If someone needs a new hoe, or a mat, or a cal-
445 abash, or the services of a religious person, he may go to that person's household and ask for it. Even in large villages whose markets are open every day it is still common to go to the household of a producer and purchase things when they are required. On the other hand for many things it is still common to go to the market and see what is available.

443 Markets are held weekly and referred to by the day of the week they are
[192] held in any particular village. More often than not people use this weekday as an-
[103] other name for the village itself. Thus in Magumeri a man says, "I am going to Thursday this Monday," meaning that on Monday he is going to Ngubbura, the village that has its market on Thursdays. Even large villages whose market places are open every day are known to have one day a week that is their "real" market day. Thus the market in Maiduguri, the capital city, is much busier on Mondays, its named market day, than during the rest of the week. The reason for this is the link-up of market villages into interlocking cycles.

The best way to understand a market cycle is to ask a Kanuri, "What mar-
[796] kets do you visit?" He then generally gives you a village for every day in the week except for Friday, the Moslem sabbath. These are a series of villages of medium
443 size, usually within a radius of five to ten miles from the village in which you
484 asked the question. Not everyone goes to a market every day, but they know of one
438 in their vicinity and may go to as many as three or four a week if they are busy trading goods. Sometimes they may visit two villages on the same market day one in one direction this week, then another one in the other direction next week, but to a remarkable degree Bornu markets do have a weekly cycle in which people can visit a market close by on any day of the six working days of the week. The reason these weekly market cycles are interlocking stems from the fact that no two villages have exactly the same cycle. Thus a man in Magumeri might go to Ardoram eight miles north of Magumeri for his Monday market, but the Magumeri man goes to Ngubbura five miles to the south of his own village for the Thursday market. On the other hand on that same day the Ardoram man goes further north to a village in *his* cycle rarely ever visited by the Magumeri people, and he in his turn does not often attend the Ngubbura market which is thirteen miles south of Ardoram. So each village has some, but not all, markets in common with others close by, and the entire countryside is linked into interlocking sets of these weekly market cycles. It is important to remember here that many people walk to market, and it is more difficult for the Ardoram man to walk the twenty-six miles to and from Ngubbura market than it is to walk the much shorter distance to his own Thursday market.

782 untary alms. Zakat, the tithe for the church, is not given
[793] by the Kanuri. Consequently the clergy are dependent entirely
[792] on sadaka. Koranic specialists who devote themselves entirely to study of the Koran, and to the teaching of the Koran are called Malams. The Malams are supported by sadaka which devout Kanuri are expected to give.

788 The fifth and last Pillar of Islam is the pilgrimage.
177 All who can manage the pilgrimage to Mecca (haj) without hardship are expected at some time to make this trip. The Mais and Shehus undertook the pilgrimage, and in fact, el Kanemi spent some years in Mecca. Large numbers of the Kanuri populace have also made the pilgrimage. Its effect has been to tie Kanuri society to the larger world of Islam, in that way to share in a larger community and to bring back to Bornu new ideas and new products. Pilgrims who travel across the width of Africa by truck from Lake Chad to the Red Sea, find that they have a common bond with other Moslems in the towns through which they pass.

78 The nature of religious observance among the Kanuri can be
182 seen in their adherence to the Pillars of Islam. But Islam
[576] enters into Kanuri life at numerous additional points: in the
[275] common greetings between two individuals when they meet; in the
[262] abstention from any form of alcoholic beverage which tends to
[778] be widely observed; in food taboos; in Koranic charms which most
[757] individuals wear; and in the use of ink from verses of the Koran
796 as cures for illness. Most life crises are marked by religious

796 ceremony. Naming of children, circumcision, marriage and burial all have a religious aspect, though of course the nature of the ceremony is strongly Kanuri in character, and differs from the same ceremony as practiced by Moslems generally or from that ceremony as practiced by other nearby African Moslems. Similarly, the ceremonial holidays in the yearly cycle follow the Moslem calendar. Days of celebration include: the new year, the prophet's birthday, the sacrifice of the ram, and of course the month of Ramadan.

2. Islamic Law.

671 779 577 Several aspects of Kanuri culture are most profoundly affected by Islam, and will here be given more extended discussion. Law is perhaps the foremost of these. Acceptance of Islam means the acceptance of Islamic law. This involves two broad areas: one's conduct in everyday life, and formal, written law which is a part of political organization. With respect to the first, the Kanuri view of the "good man" is synonymous with being a good Moslem. In one's every-day conduct one should be properly humble and respectful of superiors, and false pride (ro kura) is considered a despicable trait. One should be devout not only in performing ritual acts, such as prayer, but in one's thoughts. It is commendable for a man to awake early in the morning, long before the time one begins the day's work, for contemplation and the counting of prayer beads (tajimi).

[692] Disputes are taken to the Lowan and to the Ajia for arbitration,

793 a religious role, but it receives political recognition. There are two Limans in Geidam. One Liman leads prayers on religious holidays, and is called Liman Noumaribe (ngumeri means religious festival); the other leads the communal Friday prayers and is called Liman Zamabe (Zama means Friday). The Liman Ngumeribe conducts prayers twice each year, at the two most important [782] festivals. When Yerima Mustapha became Ajia of Geidam, he instituted the practice of public communal prayers on the dandal each [804] Friday. This is frequently--though not always--done in Kanuri towns, and had not been the customary practice in Geidam when 793 Kaigama had been Ajia. Yerima made inquiries as to who was con- 634 sidered the most respected Malam in Geidam, and appointed that 292 Malam as the Liman Zamabe of Geidam. The new Liman Zamabe was 594 given a kulugu and a burnoose as marks of office. Though the Liman Ngumeribe had previously held his office under Kaigama, Yerima also gave him a kulugu and a burnoose when he came to Geidam.

2. Religious Festivals.

796 The month of Ramadan (April 2 to May 1, in 1957) is spent 785 in fasting. During that time neither food nor water is taken 183 into the mouth from sunrise to sunset. All Kanuri above the [561] age of fifteen or sixteen keep the fast. For several years before that boys and girls keep a modified fast, in which three days of fasting are followed by nine days in which the fast is not observed. In Geidam all Kanuri outwardly keep the fast, al-

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796 though it was admitted that there were Kanuri who drank water
795 in secret. In Maiduguri there are Kanuri who eat openly in
183 the market-place during Ramadan, but Geidam is too small a town
[369] for anyone to violate religious custom so blatantly. As Rama-
785 dan in 1957 fell in the hottest and most uncomfortable time of
512 the year, fasting, and in particular abstaining from drinking,
is very demanding. Most people radically alter their schedules.
During Ramadan they customarily rise at 3 A.M. at the call of
a waker, pray and drink something and then remain up doing
their work until sunrise (6 A.M.). They then work for an ad-
ditional two or three hours until the sun is high in the sky,
when they retire to sleep until three or four in the afternoon.
[462] From four until sunset (6:45 P.M.) people again work, and the
women pound and grind millet. At sunset the Ladan calls to an-
[262] nounce the end of the day's fast. People then drink quantities
[272] of a porridge made of millet and soured milk (bəlam). At ten
or eleven in the evening people eat the one hearty meal of the
[517] day. Activities such as visiting, chatting and strolling con-
tinue on into the night. During Ramadan, the entire daily
schedule is shifted so that people sleep through the hottest
hours of the day, work during the cooler periods at sunrise and
at sunset, break the fast with a light meal which is followed
by a heavy meal some hours later, and spend much of the night
in leisure activities. In actual fact little work is accomplished
in this month.

785 As the sun set on Tuesday, April 30th, everyone looked
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As the sun set on Tuesday, April [GEIDAM] 30th, everyone looked
785 closely for the new moon which would mark the beginning of the
796 new month and the end of the fast. The sky was slightly cloudy
[803]
[821] and the sliver of the new moon could not be distinguished. The following day, therefore, would once again be a fast day. However, two boys came to the Alkali and swore on the Koran that they had seen the moon. In addition, it was announced over the radio that the moon had been seen in Enugu, so that the fast of Ramadan was in fact ended. Wednesday, instead of a fast day, was the festive Ngumari Ashembe (Ashem means fast), the great
796 festival marking the end of Ramadan. Throughout the night guns
[538] were shot off, and drumming and algator (a reed instrument) playing were continuous at the door of the Ajari. On Wednesday morning at nine o'clock a crowd of more than a thousand people gathered in an open area to the southeast of the town, where a
[291] large tent had been erected, for communal prayers. Everyone wore new gowns (kulugu) which had been given as presents for
[492] the holiday. The Ajia rode out to the place of prayer on horse, followed by all his men in their most brilliant robes. After the prayers, led by the Liman Ngumaribe, had ended, all strolled back to the town, and the Ajia and his men paraded back to the Ajari. At the chinna of the Ajari a large crowd had gathered, and the Alkali along with the various NA Malams were seated in chairs. The Ajia followed by his men then paraded the length of the dandal to the Ajari entrance. This they did twice, then Yerima Mustapha remained seated at the entrance while his kabuna rode in waves toward the Ajari holding aloft their swords and

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796 [579] spears in salute to him. The crowd then dispersed and people dressed in fine robes visited one another and exchanged greetings. Later that evening horsemen rode once again in salute on the dandal; this time the kabuna were joined by a number of townspeople.

796 574 [563] On the second day of Ngumari Ashembe an enormous feast, attended by about three hundred people, was held at the Ajari at eight in the morning. Some two hundred and fifty people were seated in the outermost courtyard of the Ajari. These included the kabuna, the more important of the Koranic Malams of the town, and a number of the important traders, many of the latter Hausa. In an inner chamber were the thirty-one members of the NA staff. At one end of the inner chamber, on a raised section sat the Ajia along with the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, a representative of the Shehu, and Malam Jalo. After a time, the group in the inner chamber made up of the NA staff moved to an inner courtyard, split up into six smaller groups, [262] and food was brought out. In the inner courtyard pancakes (senasen) were served, followed by rice bari (porridge), whole roast chickens, and large sections of ram roasted in a hole in [272] the earth. Orange squash was drunk with the meal itself. After [302] the meal, kola nuts were distributed, and after all had washed, [576] perfume was passed around. Lastly, prayers were said, and all rose, said "Allah ngubə ro" (literally meaning, "May Allah prolong your days"--the traditional phrase of deference said to [431] men of higher status) to Yerima, and left. Throughout this time,

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796 574 431 bowls of food were sent out to the large group of men gathered in the outermost courtyard, and eighty additional bowls, each sufficient to feed four or five people, were distributed to families in the town. In all, 108 bowls of bəri, each costing about 2 shillings, were given away by the Ajia. Mass distribution of food in this manner is done three times each year, at Ngumɔri Ashembe, at Ngumɔri Layabe, and at Mamaludu Kuguibe. In a small town which has no Ajia, the Lowan distributes food to all the families of the town. In Geidam only the Ajia distributes food in this manner, although the Alkali also gives away a great deal on a smaller scale. In Maiduguri the Shehu and the Waziri both distribute great quantities of food, while the Ajia of Maiduguri does not.

796 574 [272] That evening about thirty-five people were invited to a second feast at the house of Alkali Baba Kura. The meal itself was essentially the same as that at the Ajia's, except that Krola (a Nigerian imitation of Coca-Cola) was served instead of Orange squash and clear mints were passed around with the kola nuts. Though the feast itself was traditional in every respect, 796 574 554 the manner of invitation was not. A list, headed by the writer (referred to locally as Malam Ibrahim), was sent to all who were invited to attend. The group was made up largely of the NA Malams, the two Kanuri Lowans and the two most important ka- [264] buna, one Kanuri and two Hausa traders, and a few others. Not present were Yerima Mustapha, who is too important a man to eat at another's house, any of the Limans or important Koranic Malams, the Hausa Lowan or the deposed Lowan Kagu, any craft heads,

796 574 554 and most of the important traders. Eating from one bowl at the head group were, in addition to the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, Malam Jalo, Sidi Mohammad, and the writer.

796 182 554 Celebration of the festival marking the end of Ramadan, Ngumeri Ashembe, has been described in some detail above. In the description can be seen the integration of a religious festival with the social structure of the town of Geidam. Keeping of the fast is observed by the entire community and serves to bind its members through a ritual of suffering. The communal bond is further strengthened by public prayer marking the end of the fast. The roles of various office-holders can be seen in connection with these observances. The Liman leads the public prayers; the Alkali attests to the sighting of the new moon; and the Ajia more than any other person uses the festival celebrations to demonstrate and to validate his high status and his great power. The day of Ngumeri Ashembe is marked by horse displays in which the kabuna of the Ajia vow their allegiance to him, before large crowds of admiring townspeople. On the following day all the important men of the town are invited to a great feast at the Ajari, and vast quantities of food are distributed by the Ajia who demonstrates the generosity expected of a great Kanuri aristocrat and receives the deferential courtesies owed to a great man. The feast which the Alkali makes is minor in comparison and is limited solely to the town aristocracy and the NA Malams.

796 782 Another extremely important yearly festival is called

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796 782 Ngumɔri Laya or Salla Laya. This is the festival at which sacrifice of a ram is made, corresponding to the Hebrew festival of Pesach and the Christian Easter. Salla Laya was celebrated on July 9, 1957. The first ram sacrificed is the Shehu's ram in Maiduguri, a special ram with black rings about his eyes. In Maiduguri a great festival marked by communal prayer attended by the Shehu accompanies the sacrifice of this, the first ram. [825] The Liman says the words "Bismillahi" (in the name of Allah) as he cuts the ram's throat, and the blood pours into a basin or shallow hole. In Maiduguri people rushed forward to dip their fingers into the blood and transfer it onto their face, as the [565] blood is considered blessed. After the Shehu's ram has been [431] sacrificed, rich men return to their homes and sacrifice their own rams. The meat is then distributed to the poor, and the people of one's ward. In Geidam Yerima Mustapha distributes about [123] a dozen rams to other important people. In 1957 this included the visiting anthropologist, who had the ram sacrificed appropriately by a neighboring Malam, and distributed the meat as sadaka to his neighbors and the people of his ward.

796 A month after Salla Laya is the festival of Tsuro Mbulo, also called Salla Laya Ngawɔrinz --the tail of Salla Laya (Ar. Ashura). It took place on the two days of August 5th and 6th. [785] During Tsuro Mbulo pious individuals fast for two days. Un- [561] like Ramadan, this is not an obligatory fast, and younger men tend not to fast while older men keep the fast of Tsuro Mbulo. 796 All, however, participate in the feasting after sunset of the 431

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796 431 [585] [777] [602] second day. This is the time for paying the zakat, the alms-tax. Rich men give away clothes and money as sadaka at this time so that they will have good luck. Poor people give away kola nuts and perfume. This is also the time when members of the various jili give small gifts to members of linked jili

796 [788] [793] with whom they have joking relationships (nəngima). As the sun sets on the second day all women bang on their water storage pots to drive away the jinn (spirit) who brings sickness.

[515] On the second night everyone also bathes. People, women in particular, then go to the houses of Malams where the Malam reads a section of the Koran which is then repeated by those

[788] present. The Malam then assigns counting of prayer beads (ta-

[535] jimi) for each person. Later in the night dancing is held in

[857] a central area, and many guns are discharged. Little boys mill about knocking sparks off smouldering pieces of wood onto other little boys.

[782] The last of the important festival days is the Prophet's Birthday, called variously Ngumɔri Kura (great festival), Ngumɔri Kuguibe (kugui means chicken), since chickens are sacrificed at this time, or Mamaludu.

F. Marriage, Family and Household.

128 In the preceding chapter, the general features of Kanuri culture were presented and it was pointed out that this was largely ideal culture. The present chapter, in contrast, deals with a single community and describes behavior as it occurs

643 The Shehu is 256.
793 also the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This
796 is embodied in his title "Commander of the Faithful", and is expressed ritually in various ways. Thus at the feast celebrating the end of Ramadam (a yearly fast) it is believed to be a sunna (injunction of the Prophet) that a special ram of the Shehu be killed by the Liman (Chief priest of Bornu). No one considering himself a subject of the Shehu may kill his own ram until the royal ceremony is completed.

644 At all annual festivals and state occasions, and every Friday, to a lesser extent, the Shehu is attended at the palace by representatives of the people. These include the nobility, any DH's who may be in the capital, or their city Wakils, and a representative section of the N.A. departments, a sample of the schoolboy population of the city, and the crafts and trade leaders of the entire city community. A symbolic pledge of loyalty and obedience is made through the saying of prayers for the health and welfare of the monarch and the state. The people, including all the nobles go down on their knees to their monarch, stand when he stands, remove their shoes in his presence, and speak to him only indirectly, using terms of reverence and respect incessantly in their conversation.

643 The question can be posed (but not answered at present) as to the real power and authority of the Shehu in the modern state of
[123] Bornu. The answer would require much more intimacy with the higher coun-
[178] cils of Bornu than was achieved during the field work. However, the writer feels that the monarch is becoming more and more a ritual head as the complexity of the modern state in its internal and external affairs increases. This has been aided and abetted in recent years by the extreme age and blindness of the present Shehu. It was commonly felt among informants around the palace, among DH's, and among many others of

511 Table of Annual Clothing Expenditures of 19 Magumeri Men (in pounds sterling)

TABLE XVI

Occupation	Male Clothes	Female Clothes	Total
District Head	150	15	165
Trader (from city)	50	45	95
Head Butcher	27	9	36
Money-lender/farmer	15	5	20
District Scribe (N.A.)	8	6	14
Head of Pagan quarter	4	9	13
Gworongo seller	5	7	12
Butcher	6	3	9
Praise singer	6	2	8
Salt seller	4	3	7
N. A. messenger	2	4	6
Hat maker	2	3	5
Kola-nut seller	2	2	4
Ex-cattle trader	3	0	3
Barber	3	0	3
Blacksmith	0	3	3
District Head's servant	0	0	0

$ All but the Head of the pagan quarter are Kanuri; he is included because of his membership in the total Magumeri society and economy.

Entertainments, Ceremonies, Cosmetics and Stimulants

Besides food and clothing, the next largest category of expenditure in Kanuri households is that having to do with entertainment, 511 ceremonies, cosmetics, and stimulants. Membership in networks of social 431 relations resulting from residence patterns, kinship, and marriage require gift-giving. However, this expenditure is a reciprocal one and 511 informants claim that it balances out in the long run. On the other hand, • 796 religious festivals involving special foods, such as wheat and rice, or the killing of a ram require periodic expenditures for all household heads, depending upon their status.

517 In Bornu entertainments encompass such activities as going to dances and praise-singers, tourism and visiting, wrestling matches, leisure talk, gambling, learning and reading the Koran, sexual affairs, going to markets when the individual has nothing to buy or to sell, lis-